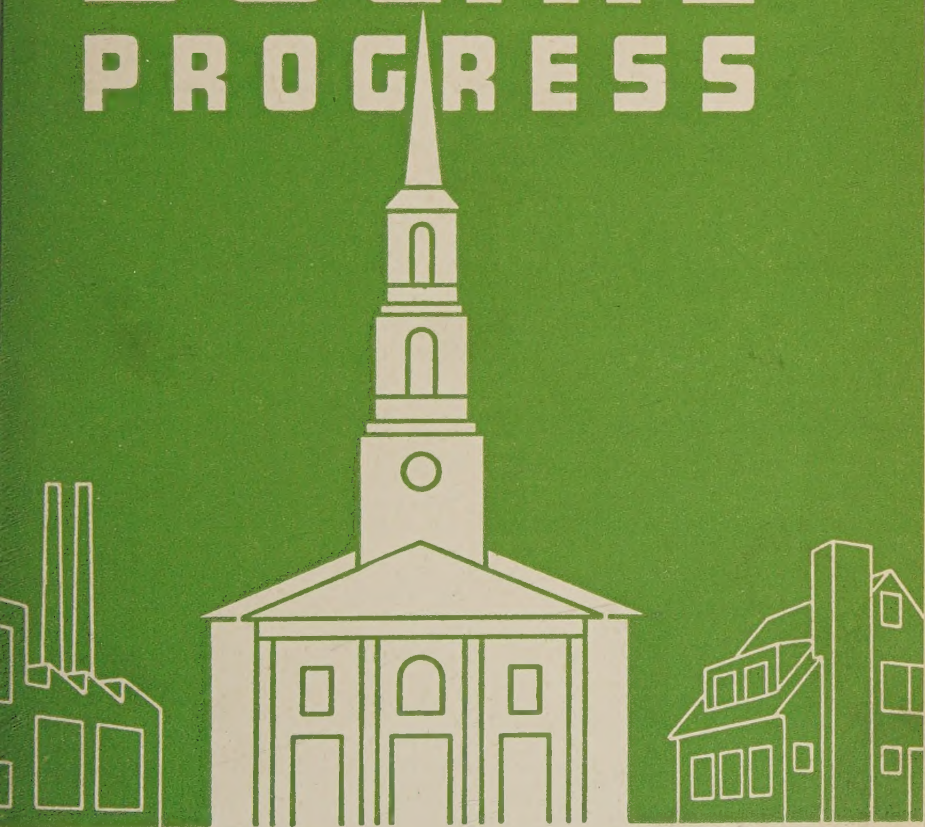


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SOCIAL PROGRESS



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FEBRUARY 1945

SOCIAL PROGRESS

Vol. XXXV

FEBRUARY, 1945

No. 6

CAMERON P. HALL, *Editor*

Assoc. Editor, ELSIE G. RODGERS

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Articles appearing herein furnish information on current issues, represent the personal opinion of the authors, and are not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies on behalf of the Department of Social Education and Action or the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Social Progress

Published monthly, except July and August, by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at 1009 Sloan Street, Crawfordsville, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editors: Cameron P. Hall, Elsie G. Rodgers.

Editorial and Executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Subscriptions, 50 cents a year; three years for \$1.25. Single copy, 10 cents.

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If Amos Should Speak Today

*A Paraphrase by Gilbert F. Close, Jr. **

CHAPTER I

THE words of Amos, who was among the herdsmen of Tekoa, which he saw concerning America in the days of Roosevelt, President of the United States, and in the days of Churchill, Prime Minister of George VI, King of England, in the years of the Great War.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Germany, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have oppressed Europe with instruments of steel: but I will send a fire into the house of Hitler which shall devour the palaces of Goering.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Japan, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they carried away captive the whole captivity of Korea: but I will send a fire on the walls of Tokyo which shall devour the palaces thereof; and I will turn my hand against Tojo; and the remnant of the Japanese militarists shall perish.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Italy, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they de-

livered up the whole captivity of Ethiopia, and remembered not the brotherly covenant: but I will send a fire on the walls of Rome.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Russia, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath forever: but I will send a fire upon Stalin, which shall devour the palace of the Kremlin.

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Britain, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; for words of freedom have been in their mouths while they have kept men slaves for their profit; they cry of democracy, yet go trafficking with the hirelings of tyranny: but I will kindle a fire in the wall of London, and it shall devour the houses of government at 10 Downing Street.

CHAPTER II

Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of the United States, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have exchanged personal integrity for bribes, and oppressed the poor; they pant after the wages of

* Director of Summer Conferences, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

the poor man, and take advantage of the innocent; and a man and his father have polluted themselves, to profane my holy name: they go, each man in his own way, and jealously guard their blind spots concerning the evil that lies on their doorsteps; they are skilled in their shirking of responsibility, and leave others to solve the problems of their day. And they use to their own advantage gifts laid on the altar, and they drink their liquor in defiance of the house of their God.

Yet destroyed I the Indian before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks. Also I brought you up from lands of oppression, and led you from ocean to ocean, to possess the land of the Indian. And I raised up of your sons for preachers, and of your young men for ministers. Is it not even thus, O ye children of the Pilgrim Fathers? saith the Lord.

But ye gave your sons money to squander, cars to drive, liquor to drink, while all the time ye commanded your preachers saying: Stick to the simple Gospel. Behold, I will take from you your cars and your money and will strip from you your luxuries and will break you beneath my righteous judgment like debris under the wheels of a heavily loaded truck; and the strong shall not be strong enough, neither shall the mighty deliver himself, and he that is courageous among the mighty

shall flee away on foot on that day, saith the Lord.

CHAPTER III

Hear this word that the Lord hath spoken against you, O children of America, against the whole family which I brought out of the lands of Europe, saying:

You, of all the families of the earth, have I cared for; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities. Can two walk together, except they be agreed? No. Will a lion roar in the forest, when he hath no prey? No. Can a bird fall in a snare upon the earth, where no trap is set for him? No. Shall the sirens wail in the city, and the people not be afraid? No. Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord not know it? No. The lion hath roared, the sirens have wailed; who will not be afraid? The Lord God hath spoken; who can but prophesy?

Proclaim from pulpits and platforms, in the market place and in the temples of government and commerce, in factories and on farms. The day of judgment is at hand.

Hear ye, and testify in the Christian Church, saith the Lord God, the God of hosts, that in the day that I shall visit the transgressions of America upon her, I will also visit your Churches. I will smite him who speaks empty words and I will cut off them who make the courts of my house a tool of their own pleasures and comforts and interests

but have no care of the poor of my people. Yea, they shall come to an end, saith the Lord.

CHAPTERS IV-VIII

Hear this, O ye that would exterminate those in lowly circumstances, saying: When will holidays be done that we may sell our goods? and the Sabbath be over that we may set out our wares, making the pound underweight and the dollar big, and falsifying the balances by deceit? That we may buy the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell imitations as genuine. The palaces of your industrial giants are maintained by ill-gotten gains, and the officers of the law have their price. I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins: they afflict the just, they take a bribe, and they contrive to deprive the underprivileged of their rights.

Thus he showed me: and behold, the Lord stood upon a wall made with a plumb line, with a plumb line in his hand. And the Lord said to me, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A plumb line. Then said the Lord: Behold I will set a plumb line in the midst of my people in the United States; I will measure their conduct as against the principles they profess to follow, and for all their iniquities and greed I will strictly recompense. And the special privileges of the rich and first families shall all be taken away; and the constant striving of man

against man and group against group shall be done away. Hear ye this word which I utter against you, O citadel of democracy and Christian civilization.

Then the great and influential men in the Church and in the State sent to the President, saying: Amos hath conspired against thee all over the country. He has gone about from city to city proclaiming his denunciations and un-American ideas: the people are not able to bear his words! For thus Amos saith, America shall one day perish, and the land of opportunity shall fall before a mighty hand.

So the President said unto Amos: Eat your pudding, preacher, and hold your tongue. Let us hear no more of your nonsense, for the United States is a great power in the world, and none can equal her.

Then answered Amos, and said to the President: No preacher am I, and no son of a preacher am I, but I am a farmer and a rancher. The Lord God Almighty took me as I followed the flocks, and the Lord said unto me, Go, speak the truth to America. Now therefore thus saith the Lord, Follow your immoralities and sins, continue in your unchristian ways, and America will go the way of nations who by their iniquities have come to a tragic end.

And Amos went forth and came unto a place where many Americans thronged and milled about in their passionate pursuit of pleasure. And

the name of the place where he began to speak was called Times Square. And he said, Hear this word, ye people of America, which oppress the poor, which deny equality of opportunity to the Negro in your midst, and cry out, Come and let us eat and drink. Are you not afraid that your luxuries will make you weak? Do you deserve to be any better than those who live outside your borders? You are putting off the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon inner-spring mattresses and stretch yourselves in tiled gymnasiums, and grumble because beef tenderloins are rationed and hard to get, and are not content to eat solid diets; that swoon to the moanings of many crooners, and invent many instruments of music; that drink liquor as cocktails, and anoint themselves with all manner of lotions and perfumes, but are not grieved for the afflictions of others. Therefore, the Lord God hath sworn by himself, saith the Lord, the God of hosts: I can no longer spare the excellent things of which your nation is proud. I abhor your indulgences. I hate your excesses. Therefore will I deliver up your land with all that is therein.

Then Amos went about the land and entered into churches and temples and cathedrals. And the Lord God of hosts spoke thus: Woe unto you that desire the dawn of the new world order! To what

end would ye have it? Shall not that day be darkness, even very dark and no brightness in it?

Your celebrations of Easter Day and Christmas! I hate, I scorn them. Your Thanksgiving Day feasts! I have no share in them. You offer me your gifts! I will not accept them. I am weary of your hymns! I will not listen to the music of your organs. No, let justice well up like fresh water, let honesty roll in full tide.

CHAPTER IX

Behold, the eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful nation, and I will destroy it from the pages of history; save that I will not utterly destroy the Dream of America, saith the Lord. For, lo, I will command, and I will sift the United States among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve.

In that day I will raise up all the just and righteous out of the ruins of a world laid waste in the destruction their sin has brought, and I will build as in the days of old. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the maker of wine them that soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt. And I will bring again my people, and they shall build the waste cities and inhabit them. And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall walk in the ways of righteousness, saith the Lord thy God.

From Where a Man Stands . . .

*By Bonaro W. Overstreet **

SOMEWHERE in England . . . at a bomber base . . .
Jeremy Peters sprawled flat on the ground
In the shade of a plane, letting his muscles relax
From the strain of their eighth mission . . .

His eyes were closed,
And he didn't bother to look when a couple of men
Walked past his head, one of them saying to the other,
"The first time I went up in a plane, myself . . ."

That was all . . .

The voice faded out of hearing . . .
But Jeremy felt the words open a door
That had long been closed in his memory . . .

He saw again
The squared browns and greens of Washington County . . .
The twisted river . . . and toy people moving around
On the Fair Grounds far below him . . .

Jeremy smiled . . .

That had been the autumn when he was ten . . .
His uncle had taken him up in an aeroplane
At the Washington County Fair . . .

And after that
The word *high* had needed redefinition.
Height wasn't any longer the distance down
From the limb of the maple tree . . .

It all came back . . . But Jeremy crinkled his brow . . .
He could smell apples . . .

Where did the apples come in?
Of course, there were always apples around a Fair . . .
But that didn't seem to be it . . .

There was something else . . .
Then he nodded . . . remembering . . .

* Psychologist, poet, and educator. Copyright, 1944, by the newspaper P.M., Inc. Reprinted with permission from P.M.'s *Picture News*.

Walking beside his uncle down the lane
That led through the apple orchard to the wood lot,
He had asked, "How high would a fella have to go
To see everything in the world?"

For a few steps

His uncle hadn't answered. Then he'd stooped down
And picked a fallen apple out of the grass . . .

"Look . . . It's like this . . .

Suppose you went high enough
To make the world look as small as this apple here—
How much of it could you see?"

"All of one side . . ."

His uncle had nodded. "That's right. All of one side . . .
You couldn't go high enough to see more than that . . .
But you and I . . ."—He had smiled down at Jeremy—
"We like to imagine, sometimes. We like to pretend . . .
It's no trick to pretend we can go so high in a plane
That we can look back at the earth and see all of one side . . .

But how would you start pretending
That you could see more than one side—see it all at once?"

Jeremy'd stood and thought . . . "You could spin it fast . . ."
His uncle had twirled the apple . . .

"You could do that . . .
But wouldn't you know all the time, in the back of your mind,
That you weren't seeing it all at once . . .?"

Jeremy had nodded . . .
"Yes, you'd know . . ."

And they had walked on together
Through the apple-fragrant morning . . .

And Jeremy
Had been thinking about the man at his side . . .
He guessed there wasn't anyone else at all
That he liked as much as this uncle who knew how
Not just to answer your questions, but to stop and wonder
About the same things that you wondered about yourself . . .

His uncle had broken the silence . . .

"Here's a word
You maybe don't know yet, Jeremy: *vantage point* . . .

That's where you stand to see whatever you see.
From our present vantage point we can see the pasture
And the roof of Carter's barn, but not their house.
The question you asked me there, a little while back,
Was whether there's any vantage point we can reach
To see the whole world at once . . .

There isn't any.
There isn't a place you can stand where your eyes can show you
More than one side at a time: one side of a house . . .
One side of a tree . . . or a world . . .

But after a while
You learn that what makes the difference between people
Is that some of them never see except with their eyes,
While others see with their memories and minds and hearts.
Some act as though one side were all that existed
Because it's all they can see . . .

But you meet others
Who always remember the *whole* while they see *part*.
I've never put the matter this way before . . .
You started my thought going, with your question back there.
But it strikes me, now, that the people we learn to trust
Are those who've found for themselves . . . what can we call it? . . .
A spiritual vantage point . . . a place they can stand
Where their minds do the trick that their eyes never can do.
They can look at a clod . . . and see it is world-material . . .
Or look at one face . . . and see the face of mankind . . ."

The boy had been hardly able to hold all the love
He felt for this tall uncle who made him feel tall . . .

*Jeremy rolled over, and lay quiet . . .
He smelled the earth . . . and oil . . . and his woolen sleeve . . .
And his thought twisted his smile: I've flown higher now . . .
And what have I seen?—the contracted circle of earth
That a bomb-sight holds . . .*

A spiritual vantage point . . .
*You haven't gone anywhere till you've found that.
Fly as high as you want . . .*

*You haven't gone anywhere
Till you can look at a clod . . . and think of a world . . .
Or at one man's face . . . and see the face of mankind . . .*

Planning for Better Group Relations

A Symposium

This symposium is a condensation of the addresses made at a forum on Community Planning for Better Intergroup Relations, under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, at Bridgeport, Connecticut, November, 1944. The community is the laboratory in which the Church must meet the practical test of its social ideals and practices. Churches concerned in the development of better race and group relationships will find in these discussions stimulating and helpful suggestions.

The Situation in American Community Life

By **Eduard C. Lindeman** *

We are to consider here what, in my judgment, is the most important problem of our generation—human relations. There is a curious spot in our more recent progress. Science has brought us together; space has been annihilated and all human welfare made interdependent. But the greater the interdependence and the nearer we come together the less we seem to like each other. Tensions and friction in the realm of human relations do not diminish; they increase. At least we have come to the realization that human relations will not improve automatically. They must receive the same kind of conscious and consistent attention as we in the past have given to our material welfare. Otherwise the very virtues which have been brought to us by scientific invention and technology will turn sour to our taste, and we will become more and more cantankerous and aggressive with respect to our group relations and suspicious of one another.

As background for this discussion I should like to emphasize four elements of the present situation in American community life which complicate our problem of community planning.

The first element is the increased mobility of our population—movement in space—which takes people away from their neighborhood associations and moves them back and forth across the continent, detached from all the normal restraints. Whenever this mobility increases, there comes about an increase in the friction between groups.

The second point is that the same situations which led to trouble in central Europe and in the Balkans during the last few years have now

* Educator and lecturer, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University.

begun to appear among us; and our democracy, as we have thus far practiced it, is not sufficient to hold these group tensions in check.

The third point is that in our American communities we want to do a great many things between now and the time when peace comes, but on every hand we are confronted with the problem of depleted leadership, especially in the absence of those younger men, who, if they were not now engaged both in industry and in war activity, would be learning the arts of community leadership.

My last point is that I can see no way of resolving our difficulties unless we invent some new methods for creating democratic public opinion. My suggestion is that we ought not to depend on large mass meetings or upon the press or upon the radio. Democratic public opinion comes out of shared experience in small groups—groups of friends. I urge you to experiment with small neighborhood groups meeting calmly in each other's homes and talking over great public questions, striving to discover the ethical and spiritual equations in those questions, so that we shall come to some definite conclusion with respect to what is right and what is wrong. I believe this with great fervor.

Dr. Klineberg, a colleague of mine, in speaking on "The Truth About Race," said that we ought not to be concerned by racial differentials, for, said he, "there are not two or three or five different kinds of human beings on this globe. There is only one and all stem from one source. We are a true genus." Dr. Klineberg might have added what seems to me a rather paradoxical conclusion: namely, that at this point science and religion are at one. What science says about the human race is exactly what all the great world religions say about it, with one possible exception.

What seems paradoxical about this to me is the fact that a truth which was validated both by religious belief and by scientific test should trouble us so much. Why can't we accept these conclusions of science and religion? Why do we still allow ourselves to be troubled by problems of race? Well, Dr. Klineberg did point out that he had found all over America a growing awareness of the problem of human relations.

We are to proceed now to what I suppose Thomas Jefferson would have called the proposition. In the early days of that high level of political philosophy, which led to the formation of the American democracy, Thomas Jefferson would sit with his colleagues while they were discussing theories of government. Often he would not participate. Almost always someone would turn to him and say: "Mr. Jefferson, you haven't said anything. What is your opinion?" Then Mr. Jefferson would say, "Well, gentlemen, what is the proposition?" What he meant was: "What do you

propose to do? Is this just more talk or does it lead to action? If you will tell me what the proposition is, then I will be prepared to discuss with you the involved principle, but not until I know whether or not you aim to do something."

That is where we are now in our discussion.

We are to speak about things to be done. We are to ask and seek answers to these questions: What lessons are we learning about human relations? What kind of country do we want? Is it within our mental and spiritual capacity to determine upon these ends and set ourselves to the task? I believe it is.

Human Relations—A Community Check List

*By Alice V. Keliher**

In considering community planning for better intergroup relations I should like to offer you a kind of check list. In doing so, however, I should be the last one in the world to attempt to say what to do in any given area. We don't know with certainty what to do. But we can come together in groups, large or small, to discuss, to pool our experience, and to share our thinking and see if together we can arrive at something better than we have done so far. Now for the check list:

Item No. 1. Start community planning. Start with those whose thinking is enough alike so that they can work and plan together, who care deeply, who are willing to stand up and be counted for what they believe.

Item No. 2. The task of this sincere, honest, searching, and humble group is to define the areas of conflict and the areas of success in intergroup relations in their community. That takes nerve and courage; it is easier to say, "No, we have no anti-Semitism; there is no feeling of the Negro as a second-class citizen in our community." But this group will persist in asking those questions. It will find out whether the answer is yes and how much and in what quarters.

You notice that when I mentioned two of the more prominent intergroup conflicts—with Jews and with black America—I went back to the conflicts we are most likely to think about first. In this check list we must go farther than that, because, when we get snarled up in our human relationships, it is along other and unfamiliar lines.

At our high school the children wrote for our graduation exercises a play about the Greenies. And who were the Greenies in their play? The

* Associate Professor of Education, New York University, and Educational Director, Walden School, New York City.

Greenies were the new war workers coming into a community that was stable and that had lived with itself and its usual conflicts for a long time. And everybody with all the old cleavages turned in together against the Greenies, the new war workers. So here was a new line of conflict that these children identified in their program.

I recall being in an up-State New York community two years ago where I was told in a shoe company that they could not hire Italian girls to operate telephones because their arms were too short. But since the war something has happened to their arms! They are all employed! In making up a check list let's be sure to look not only for the old lines of cleavage, but for issues and tensions that may be bringing in new kinds of cleavages about which we need to think together.

Then, as we come together as a community group, let's look at successes as well as problems. It seems poor social strategy to be negative all the time. We cannot keep pointing out all the time the Harlem riots. For every riot we have any number of instances of cleavages that have been healed or prevented from happening. People should hear about housing projects in which all kinds of people with all kinds of backgrounds live together successfully.

One of our biggest jobs is to find the areas where good human relations exist and try to identify what is making them work, who is getting them to work, what virus is being used, and whether it can be transferred elsewhere. The negative is more dramatic; the positive is more constructive.

Item No. 3. The next point on my check list is that we must be sure of our facts. In our American democracy it is our obligation to be informed and to get our facts intellectually clear and straight. Hitler was able to do vicious things by distorting facts. If people had been blazingly clear about them, they would have had an intellectual vehicle with which to turn off the vicious propaganda of Nazism. So, in our schools, in studying heritages and human relationships, it is extremely important that the facts be clear.

Item No. 4. We must have a tremendous consciousness about organizing our community in such a way that everybody involved is a part of the plan. In a democracy we lose time if, in the initial, over-all planning, we leave out people who must be a part of the plan. We see it called false, or the riot alarms come and we must back up and start over again. We must be careful to include every essential element of the groups who are to operate the plan and to be a part of the "bank of attitudes"—the structure that goes with it in the community. We can't list all these groups,

but certainly we should check the list to be sure all the Churches are represented; the labor unions, recreation groups, fraternal groups, national foreign groups; the women's clubs; the men's and women's service clubs; the Boy and Girl Scouts; the Camp Fire Girls; and the schools from the tiniest ones up. Check to see how the schools are organized and whether the children from the tiny ones on are growing in that wonderful relationship in which children have no prejudices.

Item No. 5. In our planning let us try to identify the deepest loyalty and the trust of people wherever it may be found and identify this democratic relationship with it. Many of us have been brought up with fears. Hatred is so closely allied with fear that sometimes a person is simply too frightened to change his attitude toward another person. If that change in attitude can be associated with a person, or a group, or an organization with whom that person feels secure, it is easier to make the change. No one of us can change, if our security is ripped away. That is why the Church is so important. People do feel secure in their relationship to their leaders, and in that relationship can afford, psychologically, to make another step away from their prejudices and fears.

Item No. 6. We must time our pace. Where prejudices have been driven deep, where they are related to fears, where they are related to economic conflict—sometimes we are not even aware consciously and intellectually of why they exist—we cannot wrench people loose from prejudice overnight. But we can identify the prejudice and its source and then, if we have a plan, inch by inch, resolutely, we can move toward doing something about it.

Item No. 7. Finally, in our community-planning, democratic groups, we must ask if we have democratic morale powerful enough to undercut the little issues. Do we really know what democracy means, what it is, what it stands for in our daily living?

Algernon Black, in *A Little Thinking About Steps We Must Take Together in Building a Working Democracy*, talks about five levels of human relationship. He says it is our job to move to the fifth. The first and lowest level as he describes it says something like this: I don't like you—your color, your religion, your clothes, your speech, what you eat and what you wear. I will annihilate you.

The next level says: I don't like you or anything about you, but I am a little bit too smart to annihilate you. I will enslave you.

The third level says, a little more mildly: I don't understand you. You frighten me. You stay away from me, and I will stay here. We will build a wall between us.

The fourth level says: Well, I know you don't speak my language or eat the kind of food I eat or wear the kind of clothes I wear. But, look, you go on doing what you are doing and let me go on doing what I am doing.

But the highest level, which we are talking about here, says: Here is a group where you are and here is a group where I am. We come from different backgrounds. We have different heritages. We have brought different gifts. We are different colors superficially. We do have different talents, and the very fact that we are different means that by merging these differences in a great co-operative enterprise called democracy each of us can be bigger than he was before.

Maintaining Good Community Relations

*By Charles Spurgeon Johnson **

The hard-boiled city of Chicago undertook the task of attempting to maintain good community relations. I want to talk about that actual experience, because I feel that for the average citizen and businessman there is more conviction in a thing that has been tried and in some measure accomplished than in a simple program.

Chicago is a city with a population of many national cultural backgrounds. It has a Negro population about the same as that of the country as a whole—about nine per cent. It is a city that has been so hard-boiled and so tough that it had a race riot shortly after the First World War, and it has developed some other characteristics that have come to be known outside its borders.

Chicago was somewhat disturbed by what happened in Detroit and in some other cities recently, and the mayor very seriously set about doing something about it, recognizing that maintaining good community relations is a responsibility of municipal government as well as individual citizen behavior.

A committee was appointed. It was nonpolitical, and was conceived of as a committee set up to study and to construct programs within the framework of the city government and city planning. I think that is something new, because our city-planning bodies have usually concerned themselves very largely with streets and highways, buildings and zoning, and the like, and have left many of the human social problems and factors to take care of themselves.

* Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Swarthmore College, and a trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

One of the first things this committee did was to approach, with the moral support of the mayor of the city, the problem of education and orientation of the city government to its own social problems. I think few people would believe that there could have been in a city like Chicago the thing that did actually happen. The city government went to school—the top officials of the city, including the mayor, the chief of police and six of his deputies and captains in marginal areas, the head of the Department of Health and his deputies, the president of the School Board and the principals of schools in marginal areas, right on through the list, totaling 125! These officials met in the aldermanic chambers of the city for two hours a day, one day a week, four weeks, a total of eight hours. But they were all there. In addition, there were the executives of social organizations, officials of real estate associations and boards, some of the judges in the courts, some business executives, industrialists, newspaper publishers, and a constant group of interested citizens numbering about 400.

They had an opportunity, for the first time, to have presented the best material that could be drawn together about Chicago's population, and to see these problems in their interrelationships within the city government and between the city government and other agencies of the city. The reporting of these sessions through the press, in turn, drew in a large group of Chicago's citizens, who received at least some measure of orientation to these problems and some suggestions of what was possible within the city's framework with reference to them.

All this has been tremendously important, for, during the intervening months, every effort of this committee to promote a program has met a better-informed official or an executive of an organization in better mood for negotiation. The committee has not tried to be a pressure group. It has attempted to be, rather, a negotiating and educating group.

A second thing the committee undertook was to do something about industrial relations, because Chicago is an industrial city. One of the members of this committee, who is also the chairman of the City Planning Commission of the City of Chicago and president of a great industrial concern in Chicago, took as his responsibility the task of drawing together twelve of the most important industrial executives in the city with their personnel managers. These men did not meet with the committee but met to discuss this problem themselves.

We worked out with this industrial executive group a plan for getting the experiences of the industries of the city in dealing with labor, and in meeting the problems growing out of the introduction of workers from

marginal groups into the industries of the city. They examined the failures and problems, and noted the successes.

From a group of twelve, the committee expanded to about a hundred, representing the largest industries in the city. They took those industries as an object for education in the use and integration of workers of minority groups into the working structure of these plants. They developed a manual which could be used still further in reaching all the industries that showed any interest in the problem. I think that the contribution there was important not only with respect to employment, to problems involving segregation, and to worker relationships, but also because these problems got their first airing, and came under the scrutiny of the men who were responsible for the conduct of these industries. It is to this that we can attribute very largely the fact that there have been notable industrial successes in the Chicago area with a minimum of friction.

Another project that was attempted had to do with the problem of housing, familiar to most cities in which there is a population of Negroes. The situation was exceptionally acute in Chicago. The Negro population alone was hemmed into slums and deteriorated areas by an iron ring of restrictive covenants and compacts, which made it impossible for a Negro family to move out. This pyramided the population to a point where it was necessary to run the schools in that district in double shifts to keep a reasonable proportion of the children in school a half day. So congested was the area that it created problems in almost every unit of government—health, sanitation, delinquency, and the like. Back of these problems were not only the deterioration of the area and the lack of actual physical space, but the more difficult matter of the restrictive compacts by which groups of neighbors bound themselves to keep out of the city Negroes and other groups regarded as undesirable without regard to their economic status or cultural level.

Here two things were attempted: The first was a practical attempt to provide some simple extension of physical housing. Through a combination of public and private agencies a program has been worked out for the selection of a new area and the development of double housing units that would not be exclusively of one race, and would be open freely to those elements in the population that had greatest difficulty in finding places to live.

The second thing attempted was a study of the depreciated area itself and of the covenants with the view to educating or to improving the

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We Are Brethren

February is Brotherhood Month and a good time for stock-taking. The general situation among the races takes shape in broad outline. (1) The period of white domination has passed its zenith and will be progressively liquidated. (2)

The peoples of color are doing what submerged and oppressed groups of white people have done at certain periods in Western history: they are consciously and aggressively pressing their claim for a larger share in the domain of human rights. (3) The traditional solution by the white peoples of the racial problem—prejudice in attitude, discrimination in treatment, and segregation in relationships—is growingly seen as an aggravation of the problem and as an invitation to future disaster. (4) While progress has been made in notable ways, it is quite evident that it falls short of the tempo that the historic situation demands if there is to be a constructive and not an explosive transition.

The people of the white race in all this cut a rather sorry figure. They stand self-condemned and yet they pretend otherwise. By their own statisticians they are told that they are outnumbered nearly three to one by the colored peoples. By their own anthropologists they are told that differences on the cultural level are not due to basic group inferiorities. By their own scientists they are told that there are no innate biological elements of superiority or inferiority possessed by any race. By the democratic faith which they profess, they are told that "all men are created equal" and are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." By the Christian tradition they are told that in Christ there is no East or West because God is "no respecter of persons." These are what the white people through the great spiritual achievements of their civilization, in science, democracy, and religion, affirm to themselves and proclaim to the world. Then by specious rationalizations, by yielding to dark fears and to semisuperstitions, they deny the very truth for whose discovery and proclamation they are responsible.

In all this, what of the Christian Church? The Gospel which it proclaims and its social (numerical) strength in the dominant race makes its influence decisive. In the light of this the interracial situation, both locally and globally, is nothing short of a scandal. For in the witness of its own life and practices, the Christian Church has failed to offer to the colored peoples of the world a demonstration of the "fruit of the Spirit" which is love, peace, gentleness, goodness, and meekness.

These

Harold Fey states, in a recent issue of *The Christian Century*: "Negroes are disfranchised in those states which have the largest proportion of Protestant population They are imprisoned in a caste system which pervades all levels of society, including Protestant Churches." As the report on *The Church and Industrial Relations* states, "the labor movement on the whole is setting a notable example both to the nation and to the Christian Church." In many communities the public schools bring together children and young people of different races who must divide on racial lines in Sunday Schools.

The first great social ill that the Early Church moved against unitedly was discrimination on the basis of race. Let the Church of today again become possessed of the power of the Holy Spirit in similar fashion and it will save the world from the worst kind of civil strife.

Political Action

The 79th Congress, made up chiefly of those elected last November, is now in session. During its life it will debate and decide many issues of far-reaching consequence. SOCIAL PROGRESS will bring to its readers from time to time information and comment upon specific measures that are due for early action. The following issues seem certain to arise in the forthcoming months:

(1) The proposal to adopt for the first time universal military conscription in peacetime. (2) America's adherence to a United Nations organization as yet to be adopted in its final form and America's assumption of her responsibilities under its provisions. (3) Proposals coming out of the Bretton Woods Conference looking toward international security through co-operation on the monetary level of international life. (4) Expanding the coverage of both the items and the persons affected through social security. The Wagner-Dingell Bill with its vast provisions for the health of the American people will no doubt be resubmitted. (5) A proposal to constitute through Congressional action the Fair Employment Practice Committee which now rests upon an Executive order. (6) The effort to abolish the poll tax through Federal legislation will be revived. (7) Just before the 78th Congress expired, Senator Kilgore on behalf of a Senate Committee introduced a bill which looks toward the assurance of national production on a scale necessary to assure maximum employment. He stated that this measure would be presented before the new Congress. These measures call for study, understanding, and action by all.

What Future Do the Jews Want?

*By Solomon Andhil Fineberg **

PRIOR to Adolf Hitler's becoming chancellor of the German Reich about twelve years ago, the Jews throughout the world were very hopeful. They shared the confidence of other peoples that emancipation of the human spirit had come to stay and to grow. We all know what the Nazis have done to this conception. Cruelty with concomitant fear are riding again roughshod over Europe. None have suffered more from the wanton barbarism of Hitler and his followers than have the Jews. Anti-Semitism has been a major weapon in the Nazi arsenal. The Nazis have capitalized on whatever dislike of Jews existed anywhere.

When we ask what future the Jews want, we must recognize that the present wishes are based upon the appalling catastrophe that has befallen millions of Jews throughout Europe. We must be aware that Jews are living throughout the world, some of whose relatives have been taken out of decent, middle-class circumstances and out of comfortable homes, thrust into cattle cars, and transported to distant points where they have been worked

and starved to death at chain-gang labor. Other Jews after months or years of cruel mistreatment have been put to death in extermination chambers.

The mere possibility that virulent anti-Semitism may break out elsewhere and turn human beings into beasts and savages capable of such barbarities has something to do with Jewish attitudes and desires for the future as it concerns their co-religionists abroad. One must draw a sharp distinction between what the Jews of America want for themselves and what they desire for those who are already crushed and destitute and are now living in the shadow of atavistic savagery.

The Jews of America want nothing more than to remain loyal citizens of the United States, receiving the benefits of democratic living and discharging their obligations and responsibilities to this nation of free and equal citizens. There are some individuals among the Jews who would welcome the disappearance of the Jews as a group, the end of Judaism as a living religion, and the survival of Jews not as Jews, but as Christians or agnostics. This desire for complete assimilation is a decidedly minority view. The majority of the five million Jews who

* Community Consultant of the American Jewish Committee; rabbi, religious educator, and author of *Overcoming Anti-Semitism* and other books.

reside in the United States desire that they and their descendants shall continue to worship as Jews, maintain their synagogues, support Jewish philanthropies, conduct educational and social activities within Jewish institutions, and the like.

There are differences of degrees in the desire for Jewish survival and somewhat different shadings of emphasis and purpose between various groups within the American Jewish population. But basic to all of their thinking is a thorough acceptance of American democracy as a fulfillment of the prophetic dreams of the Biblical prophets. Jews share with their Christian neighbors the belief that, while our country has not achieved perfection in human relationships, we are on the right track and that when we fulfill the ideals and principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, we fulfill the basic social requirements of Christianity and of Judaism.

So much for the Jews of America in so far as their attitude to their own future is concerned. What about their wishes for the homeless refugees, and the orphaned and the widowed of their people? What future can they even dare to expect for several million sick and impoverished people who have survived the slaughter that exterminated most of the Jews who fell into the clutches of the Nazis? At this moment we do not know even ap-

proximately how many Jews are alive within those lands over which the swastika still flies. If ever a group of people were in great need of rescue, relief, and rehabilitation, it is the Jews of Europe. A few years ago they were people thoroughly capable of managing their own lives and earning a decent livelihood. Now they face a tortured and terrifying future.

The Jews of America do not vision bringing any but the smallest percentage of these people to the United States. The immigration laws of our country have cut immigration so drastically that even prior to the war there was merely a trickle. The question, however, is whether these people can go back to the devastated cities from which they were taken captive, or whether new homes must be found for them. Some will undoubtedly return, but no one knows how many. Some will want a new start in a new land where they will not relive tortured memories and see places reminiscent of unbearable horror. Where shall they go? The answer given by the majority of Jews is, "Palestine."

In respect to Palestine, the concession of the British to Arab nationalism creates almost insurmountable difficulties. Unless the White Paper, which practically ends Jewish immigration into Palestine and land purchase by Jews there is soon revoked, the magnificent colonization of six hundred thousand Jews

who have gone to Palestine and who would gladly welcome other Jews into their community will be relegated to complete impotence as far as helping other Jews to find homes is concerned. In this terrible plight and at this sad juncture in history, millions of Jews are well aware that other people can resettle in lands which will be intrinsically their own, but that Jews may find anti-Semitism barring their paths and ruining their lives. It should not be surprising, therefore, that Jews, faced by this morbid spectacle, are talking about a Jewish commonwealth and a Jewish nation.

There is no division in Jewish opinion as to the duty of all right-thinking persons to assure to Jews who want to go to Palestine an opportunity to go there. Nor do they disagree at all in reference to the desire that the human rights which are part and parcel of American living shall become the code of all countries. The right of a man to live in the place where he was born, to acquire an education there and to earn a livelihood there and to live as an equal citizen there, would solve the problem of innumerable Jews. It would also be the solution of the problem for many millions of non-Jews. Such a guaranteed responsibility for individual human rights is being advocated by the American Jewish Committee and has received widespread Jewish and Christian support. The basic idea

is that no country shall be able to persecute by *official policy* any minority within its realm and to claim that to do so is its privilege because it is an "internal problem." It has been pointed out that the cost of succoring and rehabilitating the victims of this type of political persecution falls upon the citizens of other lands. Jews are only one of many peoples who should be so guarded against exploitation and persecution.

If it were possible to assure the Jews throughout the world a future under conditions similar to those which exist in the United States, there would be very little talk of Jewish nationalism. The very phrase, "Jewish nation," has very little meaning to people who already belong to such a nation as the United States or Great Britain, whose sons and daughters are in the armed services of those countries, and whose devotion to their Governments is boundless. But if the specter of flagrant anti-Semitism continues to hover over Europe, there will be talk of a Jewish nation, specifically located in Palestine, where Jews who are not accepted as citizens elsewhere may find a safe haven and a permanent home. If that were to come about, the word "Jew" would have two very different meanings. The one would refer to people practicing a certain religion and following a certain

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Why Is It Funny?

A Talk with Young People About Drinking

By Grace Sloan Overton *

A GROUP of young people had entered eagerly into a discussion of ever so many interesting things. Then something was said—not by myself but by one of the students—about “drinking.” A small part of the group giggled.

Always wanting to create an honest situation so that one may be honest in it, I asked, “Why is it funny?”

With the good sportsmanship of our youth one of the group undertook to explain. “I don’t know why it is. But whenever a person talks about drinking I immediately get suspicious that he is a bit old-fashioned, and for some reason it’s funny to me.”

There was evident good will, with honesty and unabashed frankness, in the feeling that talk about drinking was funny. I was sure, if I were equally honest, that I should look for their good reasons. So we all went to bat about—*Why is it funny?*

“Hipped Reformers”

So many very good people were rightfully uninteresting to them, these young folks declared. They thought the reasons are: “Such peo-

ple are maladjusted themselves and have to rant about something”; “They have no sense of humor themselves—are afraid to have any fun—and don’t like for other people to have any”; “They sublimate their own resentment against life by fighting something”; “They get going and—well, they just get funny.”

You know, I had to confess that people who were “hipped,” who “just got going,” who were “egotistical reformers,” *irritated* me frightfully. But these students’ good sportsmanship was greater than mine; to them such people were only funny. With this off our hands we were all ready for the next.

“What’s Smart?”

To this I countered, “You wouldn’t really say that it’s dumb *not* to drink?”

“Oh, no!” came the generous rejoinder. “But it’s dumb to think oneself good just because one doesn’t drink and that everyone else is bad who does drink.”

Granted that many gracious people do drink. But does drinking make them more gracious? Is drinking like eating onions—*you do or you don’t?* Or is the question a serious one for all young people?

* Writer, lecturer, and leader of young people. Article reprinted with permission from *Allied Youth*, Washington, D. C.

Is it merely overimaginative, mal-adjusted, "hipped" personalities who get going on all this? Every normal young person wants "to be smart." The higher his general social intelligence, *the more he wants this*, of course. And no boy or girl wants simply to be "pious" and look the part, or to be good and uninteresting. No, indeed!

Fact is that youth is always wanting to get away from unsmartness, dowdiness. And always wanting to be interesting, attractive, compelling. All hardheaded youth will therefore ask tough questions about what drinking does to social graces.

I recall a wonderful sentence. Someone was telling how drinking eased a person's restraint, reduced his self-consciousness, overcame his timidity. Then he added that *alcohol makes the wallflower into a centerpiece*. Have you ever heard it described better? Glance at any picture of a formal banquet or meeting. At any given moment nearly all those present are "wallpieces," so to speak, aren't they? Certainly *not* centerpieces! Isn't that true at a well-appointed dinner being eaten by gracious people? Or in the chatting groups at a banquet table? Or in your highly efficient committee meetings? One at a time speaks. All others listen with the social attitude of gracious attention. Only one "centerpiece" at a time, and some holding that spot seldom, only briefly, or not at all.

Such is the rule by which the more gracious society moves, is it not? Too many centerpieces—too often, too long, or all the time—is this not the opposite of the best social grace?

And what about smartness—of appearance, and of thinking, and in speaking? These are hard-earned achievements. Every youth knows this. It was an officer, drinking, who "spilled" the invasion date when all the discipline of the Army would have kept him tight-lipped. But behind his "unsmart" words were a mental dowdiness and physical slump induced by alcohol. For the time alcohol made the habitually smart officer into a three-way slouch. Did it not? Even a small amount "reverted" his highly developed discipline—set him back many years to the date, in his earliest military experience, when he had not yet experienced the thrill of "general-ing" his natural impulses. Alcohol made the iron-disciplined officer into a conversational "centerpiece." Smart to drink? I ask you.

"Laugh It Off"

So our long conversation drove on. Until one youth said, "You know, when we're cornered on a thing like this, it's easier to just laugh it off."

That certainly is a baffling form of defense, isn't it? If one refuses to be serious, you can't do much about him. Just as it takes two to have a

quarrel, so it takes *two* to make an issue stand out—to carry on a high-grade, shared discussion—to reach a decision which makes the discussers all proud of themselves. And since laughing may be a device merely of defense, one often needs to look behind it; it may be good or it may be bad.

Good laughing. Very much of it is just this. You laugh at what you *don't* have on a camping or hostel trip. You laugh at *missing* the bus when it simply couldn't be helped. You laugh at the boner you pulled. Well, let's hope you at least laugh *later* about it.

Bad laughing. Laughing that may keep one from seeing the real point of a situation. A substitute for insight. We've all done it sometimes. And afterward seen it was like that well-known whistling in the dark—a device used by those who can't make it un-whistling or un-laughing!

Just then came one of those discusional flashes. Someone's clear mind recalled that once upon a time there had been the best of reasons for many notions that later seemed very odd. And the argument was off once more to a fresh start.

“Queer Notions but Good Ideas”

Laughing at queer notions. All normal youth does it! But normal youth is also intelligent. And intelligent minds learn to look behind the queeriness of ideas. Often

they find there—sometimes or even right now—a very bright idea. “Walking under a ladder is bad luck.” Someone seriously intones those awesome words, and everybody howls in derisive laughter. And yet, anything as unstable as a ladder *is* a good thing to keep out from under. More laughs! Only this time they're *on the side of the good idea!*

“All people who drink are bad.” You hear it and you may laugh. “All who do *not* drink are good.” And once more you may smile, because *you know better*. For your principal question is not whether taking a drink tacks a permanent label on one. But even as you smile that incisive intelligence of yours will begin to search for any possible good ideas behind what was said to you in such a way as to make it sound laughable.

It was an American-born British politician and a member of Parliament speaking. She'd seen alcohol used on both sides of the Atlantic. If anyone could get away with a little drinking—and still keep efficiency and enjoyment at top pitch—she should be the one. But she well knows that its use pulls us *backward* and *downward*. And so, speaking *for her own capable and experienced and successful self*, Lady Astor declared: “When I'm having a good time I want to know it; I don't want my brain muddled with alcohol.”

Next Steps

THE World Order Movement marches on! In November and December it brought the leaders of the Churches together on a presbytery basis in the World Order Conferences. In January and February it is bringing the membership of the local Churches together in the World Order Workshop. In April its focus will be on the Christian's individual responsibility in a period of commitment and action.

The program for this post-Easter period may be summarized as follows:

A carefully worked-out plan in every Church to stimulate, inspire, and guide each member as a citizen to express through political action and every other avenue of influence his support of the effective participation of the United States in international co-operation and organization with particular reference to current proposals; this support to be rendered with the fullest measure of understanding, conviction, and commitment under God.

In March and April suggestions will be made as to the "what" of such support. These suggestions will be made in the light of the National Study Conference on a Just and Durable Peace, at Cleveland, January 16-19, and of the then current situation.

The Program of Action

This month let us look at the "how" of this program of action by the individual members of our Churches. Suggestions are made in terms of the channels open to every Christian in his normal living, through which he may make his influence felt.

A. As a member of a family, the individual may:

1. Introduce into family life the daily use of the packet, *The*

Christian Family and World Order.

2. Bring into the family conversation questions related to understanding of and attitudes toward the role of the United States among the nations after the war, particularly in reference to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference proposals.
3. Introduce to the family the materials of the World Order Movement and others.
4. Enlist the family in drawing up a letter of opinion and support of American participation in international organization to be sent to the local newspaper or to representatives in Washington.

B. As a neighbor, the individual may:

1. Stimulate interest in, understanding of, and action for world order through his conversation.
2. Challenge and expose whispering campaigns against minorities and other groups.
3. Make definite efforts to encourage his neighbors to give political support to current proposals looking toward American participation in international organization.

C. As a worker, the individual may:

1. Examine his own spirit of readiness to use his occupational standing and skills in creating the attitudes and the conditions necessary for world order.
2. Use his occupational contacts to help his colleagues into better understanding and stronger support of a constructive American foreign policy.

D. As a citizen, the individual may:

1. Express his opinions to those who help to mold public opinion—

newspaper editors and managers of broadcasting stations; and representatives in Washington and others who influence the formation of public policy.

2. Unite with others in interdenominational, civic, and national organizations committed to action in the interest of world order.

E. *As a member of a Church*, the individual Christian should:

1. Encourage and support the setting aside by the group within his Church of which he is a member of a program in April that will deal with appropriate action by its members.
2. Offer his services to make available information of suggestions for action by individual Christians through the various channels of his Church's life.
3. Join with others in contributing time and effort in the visitation of his fellow members in the interest of their taking appropriate action.

The program of the local Church of which the individual is a member is most important if he is to put his influence to work on behalf of world order. The following suggestions are for use in April.

1. The Church may unite in an interdenominational or, better yet, a civic occasion in the interest of developing a loyal support of American participation in international organization and co-operation.
2. If the Church did not hold a World Order Workshop during the Pre-Lenten Local Church Study Period, let this be undertaken during April, using, if desired, *The Cost of World Order*.
3. The World Order Workshop that was held in many Churches did not afford so much time as many in the group wanted. Why not, therefore, hold a series of neighborhood meetings in

the homes of members for those who are interested in a further study?

4. Plan ways to put into the hands of every family of the Church and of the Sunday School the packet, *The Christian Family and World Order*.
5. Plan to make broadly available the *Primer on Politics of the World Order Movement*.
6. In planning for the congregational meeting, arrange to have a program that will present suggestions for significant action by the membership of the Church.
7. Organize teams of two members each who will be prepared to visit their fellow members in the interest of the support of current issues on American participation in international organization and co-operation.
8. Have each Church group include in the plans for its April meeting provision for suggestions of appropriate action by the members of each group.
9. Plan the service either on April 8, immediately following Easter, or on April 29, the last Sunday of the month, as a service of commitment under the theme, "And they shall bring the glory and the honor of the nations into it," Rev. 21: 26.

Books About Brotherhood

Brothers Under the Skin, by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown. \$2.50.

Group Relations and Group Antagonisms, edited by R. M. MacIver. Harpers. \$2.00.

Race, Science and Politics, by Ruth Benedict. Modern Age Books. \$2.50.

A Faith to Free the People, by Cedric Belfrage. Dryden Press. \$2.75.

An American Dilemma—The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, by Gunnar Myrdal. Harpers. \$7.50.

What the Negro Wants, edited by R. W. Logan, University of North Carolina Press. \$3.50.

Sanctuary

Brotherhood*

GRANT to us, O Lord,
To know that which is worth knowing,
To love that which is worth loving,
To praise that which can bear with praise,
To hate what in thy sight is unworthy,
To prize what to thee is precious,

And above all

To search out and to do what is well-pleasing unto thee;

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

—Thomas à Kempis.

Brotherhood: Personal

If you discriminate against me because I am dirty,
I can make myself clean.

If you discriminate against me because I am bad,
I can reform and be good.

If you discriminate against me because I am ignorant,
I can learn.

If you discriminate against me because I am ill-mannered,
I can improve my manners.

But if you discriminate against me because of my color—

You discriminate against me because of something which God himself gave me
and over which I have no control.

—Channing H. Tobias.

WE COMMIT OURSELVES individually and in our Christian organizations—to a constant criticism of our own attitude toward persons of other races in the light of all we know of love. We pledge ourselves to active effort against the discrimination and the segregation of any group, Negro, white, Japanese descent, Jew or any other, wherever our lives touch them—in our personal relationship, in our Churches, in schools, in housing, in transportation, and in employment. Amen.

—Christian Youth Conference of North America, 1944.

Brotherhood: Social

We must realize that we have moral obligations to all men.

We must demonstrate in practice our belief in the intrinsic worth and dignity of every human being.

We must recognize that lines of division based upon color alone are unjust and tyrannical.

* Prepared by Deane Edwards, Commission on Worship, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

We must substitute pride in the human race for racial pride.

We must break away from the prejudices of convention and caste.

We must make sure that every public measure to improve the quality of life of our people shall apply equally to all citizens.

We must insure, in so far as legislation can, equal opportunity in every kind of useful work for all persons of equal skill and energy.

We must make sure that the life of a person, his standing in the community and ability to meet his needs, is not made to depend upon race or color but only upon character and willingness to contribute his best.

We must oppose all charlatans, and demagogues, giving no quarter to those who would fan into flame racial animosities.

We must support with counsel, service, and material resources all constructive efforts for equal justice and opportunity for all.

We must sponsor study groups, forums, fellowship in worship, and other inter-racial means through which men learn co-operation in meeting common needs and mutual interests.

*We must make sure that in our Churches those of every race and people shall be welcome to full membership and fellowship.***

Prayer:

Almighty God, who didst lead our fathers to these shores that they might here lay the foundations of civil and religious liberty, bless to us the glorious heritage of faith and freedom which we have received from them. Preserve thou the nation which was established by their prayers, their heroic deeds, and their sacrifices. Help us to be true to the great ideals for which they stood, and may our country ever be the home of justice, liberty, and true brotherhood. Defend it against every peril, and may it be increasingly a blessing to the whole world. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

—*Book of Church Services.*

Brotherhood: Universal

O God, who hast made men in thy own likeness and who dost love all whom thou hast made, suffer us not, because of difference in race, color, or condition, to separate ourselves from others and thereby from thee, but teach us the unity of thy family and the universality of thy love.

Our Father, we pray for thy Church, which is set today amid the perplexities of a changing order and face with new tasks. Baptize her afresh in the life-giving Spirit of Jesus. Bestow upon her a greater responsiveness to duty, a swifter compassion for suffering, and an utter loyalty to the will of God. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

—*Adapted.*

** From *Brotherhood—Our Unfinished Task*. Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1945.

Planning for Better Group Relations

(Continued from page 15)

understanding of people regarding them. It has been found that many people honestly believe that they are protecting their property from destruction by keeping out any type of Negro family, and in various parts of the city the prohibition extends to other minority members.

The city committee has been working also with the new group of delinquents who have developed out of the boy gangs of these areas. It is interesting to note that the police captains, in these difficult marginal areas, have been assisting in the organization of boys' clubs. These clubs are effective in channeling or rechanneling the aggressive and destructive urges of these young people—Negroes in one section and white children in another—by giving them something else to think about. That program has shown some remarkable results over the past summer.

Perhaps the most significant thing about these attempts to create and maintain good community relationships has been the conquest of fear—the fear of city officials, for example, of losing the good will of the city by taking a courageous step that is recognized as being good and sound socially and economically.

One example will illustrate that: The local housing authority had been searching for three years for a site for a housing project in which Negroes could live without objection from white residents. Finally, one was found, all specifications for defense housing were met, and plans were begun in a joint arrangement with private builders and Government loans. The mayor received a protest with 60,000 signatures objecting to the location of the project although there was not a white

family within a mile and a half of it. Now 60,000 votes cannot be disregarded lightly, but the project was continued and the world did not collapse. The project was completed and the resentment appears to have exhausted itself.

There has been fear on the part of some of the responsible people in the city, fearing that if decent housing, good schools, and the like are provided, it will bring too large a Negro population to Chicago. But that fear has been overcome, I think, and also the fear of taking the courageous next step: conceiving of these human relations boldly as a responsibility of the Government and of the citizens alike.

What Future Do the Jews Want?

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culture, whose nationality would be that of countries wherein they reside outside of Palestine. The other meaning of the word "Jew" would be "a citizen of the Jewish commonwealth."

Here, however, there is a grave division in Jewish ranks. There are sections of the American Jewish population to whom the words "Jewish commonwealth" are distasteful. They prefer a future for the Jews which would be based *solely* upon the recognition of Jewish religious and cultural values.

The future of the Jews in democratic lands is inextricably intertwined with the fate of their non-Jewish neighbors. Given an opportunity to enjoy equal citizenship Jews are content to be a religious group scattered throughout the world. Whether Jewish nationalism is a solution for the dilemma faced by millions of dispossessed Jews will depend upon the rapidity with which law and order is re-established in Europe and the extent to which anti-Semitism and its monstrous effects are banished.

The Workshop

A State Civil Rights Law

A draft of a desirable civil liberties law aimed at racial discrimination in public places, in trade-unions, and in publicly supported agencies has been prepared by the legal department of the American Civil Liberties Union, in co-operation with counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The draft has been released for use in 1945 legislatures, either in states without such a law or those with an imperfect statute.

*The following memorandum, describing the proposed bill, is presented here for the information of synod, presbytery, or local Church groups interested in racial rights, who may find helpful its suggestion of the possibilities of political action in support of justice to minority groups.**

The Memorandum

The object of the state civil rights law, hereafter described, is to prohibit discrimination on account of race, color, creed, ancestry, or national origin, and the denial of equal rights to any person: (1) in admission to or in accommodation in places of public amusement or resort, (2) in employment in certain industries and businesses, and (3) in labor unions.

Twenty-eight states have no civil rights laws whatsoever. Many of the other states have laws which are inadequate and therefore largely inoperative. In those states which have some antidiscrimination legislation on the books, the bill is designed so that sections may be taken to supplement present legislation. The bill contains 12 sections and provisions as follows:

SECTION 1. Adapted from a bill introduced in Congress by the National As-

sociation for the Advancement of Colored People. It makes illegal not only active discrimination, but also punishes anyone who directly aids or causes it. The section is limited only to discrimination in admission or accommodation or service of any person in places of public accommodation, whether licensed by the state or not.

SECTION 2. Adapted in part from the Federal bill. It is purposely not all-inclusive, since a bill enumerating a multitude of various places where equality is required would be strictly construed, and hence a failure to list certain other places would be held by the courts to be specifically excluded. Those provisions of the section referable to educational institutions are adapted from the New York Civil Rights Law (Section 40) with an additional prohibition directed against institutions obtaining tax exemption.

SECTION 2 (b). Designed to prohibit placing of signs or advertisements calling attention to the fact that the particular place of public accommodation or conveyance discourages or refuses patronage or service on the basis of race, color, creed, ancestry, or national origin. Any such notice or advertisement is made prima-facie evidence that the owner or manager of the particular place authorized publication.

SECTION 2 (c). Designed to hold liable both the actual owner and his agent of any place practicing discrimination.

**SECTION 3. Modifies the common-law rule holding theater tickets to be a license revocable at the will of the theater owner. This law was recently held to be Constitutional.

** SECTION 4. Prohibits either the refusal to hire or the making of inquiries con-

* Copies of the draft of the proposed State Civil Rights Law may be had on request to American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

** Adapted from the New York Civil Rights Law.

cerning the race, color, creed, ancestry, or national origin of any person seeking employment in public schools.

****SECTION 5.** Prohibits public utility companies or common carriers from refusing to employ or promote employees on account of their race, color, creed, ancestry, or national origin.

****SECTION 6.** Applies the same standard as in Section 5 to concerns doing business with Federal, state, or local agencies.

****SECTION 7.** Prohibits labor unions from discriminating or segregating on the basis of race, color, creed, ancestry, or national origin either within the union or in employment opportunities. It goes beyond the New York law by adding protection for union members after admission.

****SECTION 8.** Provides a civil remedy for the violation of the prohibited discriminatory acts listed in previous sections.

SECTION 9. Makes the unlawful discrimination a misdemeanor. It is desirable to provide both a civil and criminal remedy, and in terms not too severe to discourage enforcement. Where criminal penalties fail, civil damage suits can be used.

SECTION 10. Empowers the Secretary of State to revoke the license of any person who has twice or more violated the act within a year. This section may be amended, however, to suit the particular instances, and it might be well to empower the Secretary of State, if it is within his jurisdiction, to revoke charters of incorporation or articles of partnership, et cetera. The revoking power, of course, may also be delegated to some other governmental agency.

SECTION 11 is adapted from the New York Penal Law, Section 700, and is a cover-all provision to punish discrimination.

SECTION 12. This is the usual separability clause which should be included wherever the proposed civil rights law is introduced as a whole.

**** Adapted from the New York Civil Rights Law.**

Long Branch Interracial Fellowship

The aims and purposes of the Fellowship were published in *SOCIAL PROGRESS*, November, 1944. Here is an outline of its committees and how they work.

Each member belongs to one of three committees through which the group performs functions: Education, Legislative, and Grievance. At each meeting of the Fellowship each committee reports and proposes a course of action.

The Education Committee plans some special feature for each meeting of the Fellowship: Book reviews, a library of pamphlets, magazines, and books pertaining to race relations. *Interracial News Letter*, a four-page mimeographed sheet, is published monthly and sent to members, city officials, and leaders in the community.

The Legislative Committee invited the candidates for the city commission to come to a meeting and give their views on race relations; arranged forum discussions on the stand of the two major political parties on Negro problems.

The Grievance Committee considers cases of discrimination. The editor of the local newspaper was interviewed in regard to the policy of "playing up" Negro crime, which was causing considerable tension. The Chamber of Commerce was urged to employ workers without discrimination. Co-operation has been promised. Discourtesy and discrimination of bus drivers toward members of minority groups have been reported to the bus companies with favorable results. The intervention of the committee brought about the re-employment of a girl dismissed because of race prejudice. Letters of protest have been sent to restaurants showing racial discrimination.

One of the most valuable outcomes of this organization is the fine spirit of fellowship evidenced in the meetings, where Negroes and whites, Jews and Christians, work together on mutual problems in an attempt to exemplify democracy in action.

About Books

Prejudice: Japanese-Americans, by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown. \$3.00.

The recent announcement that Japanese-Americans would be permitted to return to the West Coast has refocused public attention on the question of the Nisei, or American-born citizens of Japanese parentage. During the "dispersion" of the past months groups in many communities have come to know individuals and families released from the relocation centers; few, especially in the Eastern states, have thought much about this mass evacuation of American citizens from their homes, being content to accept without question the given reason of military necessity. Sober citizens will do well to read, ponder, and act upon this report of a study made by Carey McWilliams at the request of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations and made possible by grants from the Institute and the Guggenheim Foundation.

The author attacks this highly controversial question fearlessly, presenting in a readable, carefully documented, and objective book the tragic story of this forced migration. The book, however, has significance beyond the particular group whose dramatic story is told with great conviction. For in this, as in his earlier book *Brothers Under the Skin*, Mr. McWilliams makes abundantly clear that racism, and every other form of prejudice, whether directed toward Negro, Jew, Japanese, or any other minority group in America, is all of one piece and is the seedbed of every kind of divisiveness. The writer declares that America's future in the Pacific basin depends largely on our ability to solve with justice this problem of the Japanese within our own borders. It seems equally clear that upon our success in the fair treatment of other minority groups will depend not only much of our

own domestic welfare but also, to a great extent, our influence and prestige in our international relations. E. G. R.

Costa Rican Life, by John and Mary Biesanz. Columbia University. \$3.00.

This is perhaps the first book on Latin America to present, not dazzling political events or picturesque life in a great metropolis or anthropological oddities in the back country, but a compact sample of the actual life and culture of typical Latin Americans.

When Dr. and Mrs. Biesanz went to the University of Costa Rica on an exchange professorship, they wanted more than a superficial tourist's view. They wanted to learn how the people in Costa Rica earn their living, choose their mates, educate their children, elect their rulers, have fun, and worship God. Going to weddings, teaching, shopping, visiting schools, attending dances, movies, Church services and club meetings, opening the door to beggars and fruit vendors, talking politics on the street—these were their methods of collecting information during their ten months in Heredia, a town of ten thousand population, and six months in San José, the capital. The result is a sound sociological analysis which is both an introduction to and an interpretation of a southern neighbor about which little has been published.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Blind Spots, by Henry Smith Leiper. Friendship Press. Paper, 60 cents.

This second edition of Dr. Leiper's timely book is revised, but the thesis is unchanged. For, says the author in his Foreword: "Race prejudice, that cancer in the heart of human society, was present in 1929 when this book was first published. Since then it has become endemic."

The author's purpose, and one in which he succeeds admirably, is to stir readers to discover and diagnose their own blind spots in relation to race prejudice and to undertake "the cure." Writing from the Christian point of view, the author sees race prejudice, hatred, and malice as sins against both God and man, which like all sin destroys the sinner as well as the object of his prejudice. Written in simple, conversational style, this is a book particularly stimulating to young people on whose growing wisdom and tolerance we must rely for the solution of this problem if one is to be found. E. G. R.

Probing Our Prejudices, by Hortense Powdermaker, with suggested activities by Helen Frances Storen. Harpers. \$1.00.

This small volume is a practical attempt to guide the formation and growth of those sane attitudes and social practices which are essential to normal human relations without regard to color, social status, religious beliefs, or national origins.

The book is written by the assistant professor of anthropology, Queens College, New York, who recognizes that prejudices are largely in the realm of the emotions and must be met with both information and redirection. The outline is prepared in the form of a study unit for high-school students. It is designed to help young people to recognize their prejudices, to understand the nature, origin, and effect of them, and to propose ways in which these prejudices can be overcome and the emotional attitudes redirected.

Each chapter concludes with "Questions for Discussion," and the final chapter is devoted to a discussion and outline of possible activities. Leaders of high-school young people will find this book useful both as a student text and a leader's guide. E. G. R.

Getting Acquainted with Jewish Neighbors, by Mildred Eakin. Macmillan. \$1.00.

The author of this guidebook for Church School leaders of children has had wide experience with children in a variety of school situations. Especially is this true in her present capacity as director of the Demonstration School of the Religious Education Department of Drew University.

The theme of the guidebook is better understanding and appreciation of Jewish cultural and religious backgrounds and the teaching procedures that are most effective for use with junior boys and girls.

Mrs. Eakin writes out of the experience of an actual project. The opening chapter, devoted to planning and procedures, is followed by chapters including plans, procedures, and content material for the project. Problems arising in the development of better racial understanding are illustrated by case histories, and practical recommendations are made in each instance. This will be an interesting and useful teaching aid for leaders in Church and day schools or in neighborhood and settlement houses. E. G. R.

Citizen, Plan for Peace! by Merrill E. Bush and Others. Harpers. \$2.00.

This book records the proceedings of the Institute for Post-war Planning sponsored by Temple University in Philadelphia in 1943. It is interesting on several counts: It reports fully the discussions of the conference group, including the themes, the questions, the unsolved problems, the conclusions. In addition the book outlines the organization of the conference, and thus provides a guide or handbook for citizens in other communities desiring to work together toward a understanding of current problems and plan for their solution. E.G.R.

Study and Action

Pamphlets on Race Relations

***Christian Social Action and Minority Groups.** Projects in Understanding and Appreciation for the local Church. 5 cents.

***Five Essentials of Brotherhood.** Today and Tomorrow Leaflet. 25 copies free; \$1.00 a hundred.

***Brotherhood—Our Unfinished Task.** Packet for Race Relations Sunday. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Single programs, \$1.00 a hundred; complete packet of four programs and suggestions, \$4.50 a hundred.

The Races of Mankind.

Why Race Riots?

What About Our Japanese Americans?

The Negro in America.

The Negro and the War.

Order from Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 29, N. Y. 10 cents each.

Pamphlets on World Order

***The Cost of World Order.** A discussion guide for World Order Workshops in the local Church. Single copy free.

***A Primer on World Order.** 3 cents.

***World Order Takes Shape—From Hot Springs to Dumbarton Oaks.** 5 cents.

***Christian Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid in Europe.** 10 cents.

Dumbarton Oaks Agreements—Proposals and Statements. International Conciliation, 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y. 5 cents.

Proposals for the United Nations Charter. What was done at Dumbarton Oaks. 10 cents. **Toward Greater Freedom.** Revised, 1944. A study guide for young people. 15 cents. Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Bretton Woods Monetary Conference—Plans and Achievements and A Peace That Pays. The economic aspects of international co-operation. Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. 25 cents each.

World Trade and Employment and The International Economic Outlook. The Committee on International Economic Policy, 18 Pine Street, New York 5, N. Y. Free.

United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference—Bretton Woods.

Order from United States Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 25 cents.

*Order from any Presbyterian Book Store.

Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

The Keys of the Kingdom—with Gregory Peck, Thomas Mitchell. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) A deeply devout film with universal appeal, based on the novel by A. J. Cronin. It tells the story of a Scots priest who is sent to an abandoned mission in China and there labors for almost a half century. The saintly and humble missionary dominates the picture. The supporting cast—atheist doctor, aristocratic nun, mandarin, Chinese house-boy, and innumerable Oriental types—provides a rich and moving background for the work of Father Francis. **Family.**

National Velvet—with Elizabeth Taylor, Mickey Rooney, Ann Revere, Donald Crisp. (MGM.) A warm and pleasantly stirring story of a family in prewar England. Velvet is the youngest daughter whose consuming love for horses is sympathetically understood by a remarkably wise mother. The humor and affection of the large family, Velvet's remarkable riding, the beauty and action of her horse, and the thrill of an authentic race combine to make this an unusually attractive picture. **Family.**

Experiment Perilous—with Hedy Lamarr, George Brent, Paul Lukas. (RKO.) This film version of Margaret Carpenter's novel, laid in New York, has been set back half a century to the 1890's for added pictorial quality. It portrays the events by which the young wife of a prominent philanthropist is released from threatened insanity by a doctor's interest in her case. The film is subtly acted, skillfully planned, and ably directed, creating and maintaining an atmosphere of suspense and impending disaster. The film is excellent of its type and has a good musical score. **Adults.**

Three Is a Family—with Marjorie Reynolds, Charles Ruggles, Fay Bainter. (United Artists.) A delightful farce in which wartime housing difficulties provide the comedy in this screen version of a New York play. Complex situations and all sorts of complications keep the action fast and amusing. **Family.**

Tomorrow the World—with Frederic March, Betty Field, "Skippy" Homeier. (United Artists.) The story of the adoption of a Nazi boy of twelve into the American family of a brilliant and humane professor. The professor discovers that he has a serious problem in the relationships of the German lad with members of his family, his friends, and other school children. How to re-educate the boy poses the problem of the film, a problem more significant for the thought of American audiences than the domestic drama of the picture. The boy represents the Nazi youth who must be re-educated away from the standards they have been taught to regard as the characteristic of good Germans and adjusted to humane and constructive purposes. The cast proves quite adequate for the interpretation of this difficult theme. **Adults.**

The Three Caballeros—with Donald Duck. (RKO Radio.) This new Walt Disney film is in three parts, held together by the appearance of Donald Duck in each. The first section is straight Disney cartoon with delightful shots of South American birds. Parts Two and Three are travelogues of Brazil and Mexico in which Donald Duck is joined by friends from those countries. Disney's new technique of using human beings as well as the cartoon folk is remarkably successful. The film is gay and colorful and filled with Latin-American tunes and dances. **Family.**

The Fighting Lady—With Men of the United States Navy. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) Freshness of treatment marks this outstanding documentary film, which shows life on an aircraft carrier during a year in the Pacific in battles and through the long periods of waiting between. The cast is the three-thousand-man American crew, who fight with faultless morale and teamwork. Grimness finds expression in bits of restrained description by the narrator and in the moments when combat-crippled planes smash back home on their carrier's deck. The photography is extraordinary, dramatic, beautiful but realistic. **Family.**